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ACTION ACDA-19

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SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 /148 W ------ 109748

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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USDEL MBFR VIENNA IMMEDIATE
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

SECRETUSNATO 3660

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: UK VIEWS ON REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES

REF: A) STATE 139843; B) VIENNA 128; C) STATE 135640

1. TO INSURE THAT UK HELD AND AGREED WITH REF A EXPLANATORY DATA, MISSION OFFICER HAD INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH UK DEL'S MBFR ACTION OFFICER, ALLISON BAYLES. CONFIRMING THAT UK AGREED WITH FIGURES, AND WOULD PROBABLY ALSO BE ABLE TO ACCEPT MISSION OFFICER'S VIEW THAT AIR DEFENSE ISSUE COULD AWAIT LATER RESOLUTION, SHE OBSERVED THAT UK WAS AS INTERESTED AS US IN GETTING DATA APPROVED FOR AHG USE. PROBLEM, SHE ADDED, WAS THAT US AND UK PRUPOSES WERE NOT ENTIRELY CONVERGENT.

2. DISCUSSION THAN TURNED TO REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND TWO PAPERS U.S. DEL MBFR HAD CIRCULATED IN AHG ON JUNE 28 (PER REF B). BAYLES SAID UK WAS IN PROCESS OF STUDYING US PROPOSALS, SECRET

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AND THAT ALTHOUGH UK MBFR REP ROSE WAS REPORTEDLY INCLINED TO FAVOR BASIC THRUST OF APPROCAH, LONDON APPEARED TO BE HAVING IMPORTANT RESERVATIONS. DIFFICULTIES LONDON SAW WERE BOTH SUBSTANTIVE AND TECTICAL.

3. ON SUBSTANTIVE SIDE, LONDON REPORTEDLY BELIEVES THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT PUT FORWARD A FIRM PROPOSAL ON REDEFINING GROUND FORCES WITH FIRST ENGAGING SOVIETS IN A DISCUSSION OF DATA. THIS IS RATIONALE FOR DESIRABILITY OF GETTING EARLY WG ACCEPTANCE OF LATEST AND MOST UP-TO-DATE DATA. IF ALLIES DISCUSS DEFINITIONS FIRST, AND CAN THEN ASSUME SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT THEM (WHICH IS QUESTIONABLE), SOVIETS CAN STILL (AND PROBABLY WILL) CHALLENGE ALLIED FIGURES AND THUS WITHHOLD ANY EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON THE NUMERICAL CONTENT OF DEFINITIONS.

4. LONDON CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE PRESENT ALLIED APPROACH TO DEFINING GROUND FORCES IN TERMS OF THE COLOR OF UNIFORMS IS SIMPLE, PERSUASIVE AND EASY TO USE, ALTHOUGH IT DOES ADMITTEDLY PRODUCE SOME TECHNICAL ANOMALIES. FOR TACTICAL REASONS GIVEN IN U.S. PAPERS, UK IS NOT, HOWEVER, INDISPOSED TO GIVING A SIGNAL TO THE WP DURING THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING SESSION TO THE EFFECT THAT ALLIES MIGHT BE PREPARED IN PRINCIPLE TO RECONSIDER THEIR APRIL 8 DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES. UK THUS CONSIDERS IT HAZARDOUS FOR ALLIES TO MAKE PROPOSALS ON A SPECIFIC REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WITHOUT HAVING NAILED DOWN AN A PRIOR ALLIED/WP AGREEMENT ON THE NUMERICAL COUNT OF OPPOSING FORCES.

5. ON TACTICS, LONDON BELIEVES THAT ALLIES HAVE NO NEED TO PUT FORWARD

WHAT UK CONSIDERS TO BE A FORTHCOMING SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSION TO SOVIETS

DURING THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING SESSION. ALLIES SHOULD INSTEAD PLAY OUT TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE THEIR READINESS TO AGREE TO AN ALL FORCES COMMITMENT FOR PHASE II. THIS SHOULD CONTINUE TO REMAIN THE CENTRAL FOCUS OF THEIR STRATEGY FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE PRESENT NEGOTIATING SESSION, AND AS SUCH PROVIDES A MEANS FOR CONTINUING TO WEAR DOWN SOVIET OPPOSITION TO THE ALLIED APPROACH TO PHASING, ON WHICH SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE.

6. IF THE ALLIES CAN PUT FORWARD THE COMPLETE SET OF ASSURANCES ON JULY 8 (THIS TO INCLUDE AN ALL FORCES COMMITMENT), THEY WILL THEN SECRET

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HAVE ROUNDED OUT THEIR CONCESSIONS IN THE PRESENT SESSION, AND ALSO HAVE A CHANCE TO HEAR SOVIET REACTIONS BEFORE THE RECESS BEGINS. TO INTRODUCE A SPECIFIC PROPOSAL ON REDEFINING GROUND FORCES AS THE PRESENT SESSION IS COMING TO AN END, IN THE UK VIEW WIDENS THE NEGOTIATING FOCUS, AND COULD VITIATE PRIMARY AND THUS FAR DETERMINED ALLIED EMPHASIS ON WHOSE FORCES ARE TO BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. SINCE THERE WOULD BE NO MORE TIME TO ENGAGE IN A MEANINGFULDISCUSSION OF THE REDEFINITION PROPOSAL, INTRODUCING IT NOW WOULD ALLOW THE SOVIETS TO CONSIDER DURING THE RECESS HOW BEST TO EXPLOIT WHAT THEY MIGHT READILY INTERPRET AS A NEW ALLIED OPENING, PUT FORWARD PERHAPS UNDER PRESSURE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND INTERNAL ALLIANCE NEEDS

7. IDEA OF GIVING SOVIETS A SIGNAL THAT THE ALLIES MIGHT BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER A REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES (WITHOUT REVEALING SPECIFICS WOULD, HOWEVER, PROVIDE THE SOVIETS WITH AN ADDED INDUCEMENT TO MOVE TOWARD THE ALLIED APPROACH ON PHASING. THIS IS BECAUSE THEY WOULD THEN BE ALERTED TO THE POSSIBILITY

OF ALLIED WILLINGNESS IN THE THIRD NEGOTIATING SESSION TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY ON THE NEXT QUESTION, NAMELY WHAT TYPES OF FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED. THIS APPROACH ALSO PROVIDES ALLIES WITH TIME TO

STUDY IMPLICATIONS OF ANY PROPOSAL ON REDEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES IN THE LIGHT OF NEW ALLIED DATA ON WP FORCES, CURRENTLY UNDER EXAMINATION IN MBFR WG. IN SUM, UK SEES NO NEED FOR HASTE IN RAISING THE REDEFINITION QUESTION IN NEGOTIATIONS AT THIS TIME. INSTEAD, LONDON BELIEVES THAT ALLIES SHOULD MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TO AGREE ON THE NEW WP DATA BASE, SO AS TO BE IN THE BEST POSITION TO EVALUATE HOW A REDEFINITION PROPOSAL COULD BE WORKED OUT DURING THE RECESS. BAYLES CONCLUDED THAT IF LONDON CONFIRMS FOREGOING THINKING UK REP (LOGAN) WILL MAKE THESE POINTS DURING FRIDAY, JULY 5 SPC MEETING, AND UK DEL REP ROSE WILL BE INSTRUCTED TO SEEK MODIFICATIONS TO U.S. PAPER IN VIENNA ALONG SAME LINES.

8. DURING CONVERSATION, BAYLES WAS HANDED AN IMMEDIATE CABLE FROM UK EMBASSY IN BONN ON SAME SUBJECT. DRAWING ON TEXT, SHE SAID THAT ACCORDING TO UK EMBASSY, BONN APPEARED TO BE BACKTRACKING FROM FRG VIENNA DEL'S REPORTEDLY FAVORABLE REACTION TO THE U.S. PROPOSAL. FRG THOUGHT IT WOULD BE WISE TO GIVE SOVIETS A SIGNAL AT SECRET

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THIS

TIME, BUT WITHOUT PROPOSING ANY SPECIFIC REDEFINITION FORMULATION. AS A RESULT, BAYLES FELT THAT IDEA OF PUTTING FORWARD A SIGNAL TO SOVIETS WOULD BE THE MINIMUM ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE ALLIES (AND UK) WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENDORSE FOR THE PRESENT.

9. SINCE UK WILL NOW PROBABLY RAISE REDEFINITION QUESTION AT JULY 5 SPC MEETING, REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WASHINGTON'S PREFERRED APPROACH TO HANDLING FOREGOING ADVANCE INFORMATION. IF WASHINGTON CONTINUES TO PREFER EARLY ACTION IN AHG ALONG LINES OF REF C, WE WILL NEED PERSUASIVE ARGUMENTS FOR REBUTTING THRUST OF UK'S SUBSTANTIVE AND TACTICAL POSITIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IDEA OF AGREEING TO A SIGNAL (GIVEN SHORT REMAINING TIME OF CURRENT NEGOTIATING SESSION), MIGHT LINE UP UK AND FRG TO SUPPORT TAKING SOME ACTION AT THIS TIME. AS SUCH IT WOULD PRESENT A SOLID FRONT AGAINST THE POSSIBLE RESISTANCE

OF SMALL ALLIES TO MAKE NO MOVE AT ALL UNTIL IMPLICATIONS OF USING NEW DATA ARE FULLY STUDIED. REQUEST WASHINGTON INSTRUCTIONS AND APPRE CIATE

USDEL MBFR COMMENTS.RUMSFELD

SECRET

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